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ANNALIST LICINIANUS

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THE  
ANNALIST LICINIANUS

A LECTURE DELIVERED IN THE HALL  
OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD  
MAY 29, 1908

WITH AN APPENDIX OF EMENDATIONS OF THE TEXT

BY

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## LICINIANUS

THE discovery of the fragments of the annalist Licinianus dates from half a century ago. In the autumn of 1853 the distinguished palaeographer, G. H. Pertz, and his son Karl, both of them employed in examining documents in the British Museum bearing on German history, were apprized by Dr. Paul Bötticher (*alias* de la Garde), who was examining the Syrian MSS., of an eleventh century *codex palimpsestus* or *rescriptus* which, under a Syriac text of some homilies of St. Chrysostom, exhibited traces of a Latin text. Of these the words SULLANI, CAPITOLIUM, SACERDOTIO IOVIS were distinctly legible. The MS. had been secured for the Museum in 1847, and formed one of a collection of five hundred. It came from the monastery of S. Maria in the Nitrian desert, about seventy miles north-west of Cairo, and is now numbered Add. 17, 212. On examination it was found to contain traces of three distinct hands, the Syriac text uppermost, beneath it a grammatical treatise, in which Mr. E. Bond could distinguish the names *Iuuenalis* and *Martialis*—lastly the historical fragments of Licinianus.

The task of reading the MS., suspended by the necessary return of G. H. Pertz to Berlin in 1853, he resumed in October 1855. From October 16 to the end of the month, by the help of chemical reagents, he was able to decipher two pages, fol. viii<sup>r</sup>, iv<sup>v</sup>, and some words of fol. iv<sup>v</sup>. The remaining leaves, making up a total of thirteen, were deciphered by his son in the earlier part of 1856 (March 1–June 11), and the result of their combined labours was published in 1857. In the following year seven scholars of the University of Bonn produced a revised edition, generally described as the edition of the Bonn Heptas, and, from its more convenient octavo form, better known than the *editio princeps* of the Pertz.

The thirteen leaves containing the Licinianus fragments are or, to be more exact, were written in capitals with an admixture of uncials. Each page had two columns, each column twenty-four lines. The number of letters in a line varied from about nineteen to twenty-six. This variation must be taken into account in emending the numerous imperfect lines.

Karl Pertz describes the chemical (sulphuretted ammonia) which he used to revive the writing of this *codex ter rescriptus* as not equally efficacious throughout.

In one half of the parchment leaves most of the letters could be made out: in the other, that which was nearest to the animal's flesh, they resisted the most determined efforts of the eye and remained illegible. He was not allowed to try the tincture of Gioberti, which is stronger but more deleterious. Hence it is that so much of the restitution is doubtful. Hence, too, the comparative obscurity into which this real discovery of fifty years ago not unnaturally fell. No new editor of the fragments appeared after 1858 till 1900, when an Italian, *Guido Camozzi*, revived the interest of the subject by publishing a new text with large illustrative historical matter. This has been followed by the Teubner edition of 1904, by *Michael Flemisch*, in which much, but hardly enough, of what had been done by criticism for the text of Licinianus since 1858 is recorded.

It must not be imagined that the *name* of the writer of these fragments rests on conjecture. Karl Pertz states that the genitive, LICINIANI, occurs in this isolated form four times, in the fuller form [GAI] GRANI LICINIANI once; the *number* of the book to which the excerpt belongs is recorded in six cases.

It is unfortunate that the additional *Grani*, which the elder Pertz believed he could read in the above superscription, was, when re-examined by his son, no longer decipherable. We could wish that the stronger vision of the younger reader had confirmed the asseveration of the older. Here, however, the extra name GAI, about which the elder savant confessed himself uncertain, seems to in-



crease the credibility of the other GRANI, about which he spoke with more of positive assurance.

To what period are we to assign this Licinianus or Granius Licinianus?

Servius, the commentator on Vergil, and Macrobius both mention a Granius Licinianus as authoritative on points of archaeology.

On Aen. I. 737, Servius cites a work of his called *Cena*, in support of a legend about the primitive habits of the early Roman women, *femina quae sub Romulo vinum bibit occisa est a marito*. Macrobius appeals to him as explaining the difference of opinion on the Roman *nundinae*, S. i. 16. 28. This reference is to the second book, but we are not told the title of the work. Both these writers belong to the same period, the end of century iv, or beginning of century v.

A still earlier reference to a Licinianus occurs in Solinus (middle of cent. iii), p. 34, ed. Mommsen, *Liciniano placet a Messapo Graeco Messapiae datum originem*; another to Granius, p. 41 M. *Cicadae apud Rheginos mutae, nec usquam alibi, quod silentium miraculo est, nec immerito, cum vicinae quae sunt Locrenses ultra ceteras sonent. causas Granius tradit*. But the attribution of these two statements to a single Granius Licinianus is hazardous.

It is observable that all these references are to points of archaeology, not to matters of history. This does not prevent their being drawn from the historical compendium contained in the thirteen leaves of Licinianus (or Granius Licinianus) which we are examining; for though the substratum of these is historical or rather annalistic, they include archaeological and antiquarian disquisitions, and in the survival of so small a part of the entire work we cannot tell what proportion archaeology held as compared with pure history. One of the fragments belonged to book xxxvi, and this is enough to prove that the complete work must have been of considerable extent. In a work of such compass it is more than possible that antiquarian discussions may have played a large part, just as Dionysius

in his *Roman Antiquities* has given us a mixture of history and archaeology in which the latter decidedly predominates, and as Pliny in his *Natural History* deviates again and again from his description of the world and its inmates to anecdotes of an illustrative or amusing kind.

Thus in the earliest section of our Licinianus leaves<sup>1</sup> (fol. xi<sup>v</sup>, col. A and B), belonging to the xxvith book, a digression on the Roman equites is introduced by way of supplement to what Licinianus had said in the former books about the general constitution of the army. This passage occupies three lines of col. A and the whole of col. B, but is unfortunately too badly preserved to be quoted here either as an illustration of the author's style or as a sample of his antiquarian knowledge. It seems, however, worth while to notice that the references to Greek, especially Spartan, names of horse soldiers (*ἄνιπποι* (? *ἄμιπποι*), *κάλλιπποι*) are of a remote, not to say recondite type, and give us cause to regret that we have not more of the same kind.

In the absence of positive evidence of the identity of our annalist with any known Licinianus, and the uncertainty which attaches to the name Granius as by no means uncommon, we may ask what *internal* grounds there are for fixing his date.

A passage in which he speaks of the historian Sallust (a passage unhappily to a large degree conjectural) bears distinctly on this point<sup>2</sup>. *Nam Sallustium non ut historicum aiunt sed ut oratorem* (ARATOREM the MS.) *legendum. Nam et tempora reprehendit sua et delicta carpit et contiones inserit*<sup>3</sup> (INGERIT the MS.). Licinianus here speaks of Sallust as censuring his own time: therefore, it is argued, Sallust lived in a different epoch from his critic. This, however, does not amount to much; if the two were removed by a short interval of years from each other,

<sup>1</sup> Throughout I follow the numeration of leaves as given by the Bonn Heptas.

<sup>2</sup> Fol. iv<sup>r</sup>, l. 18 *Sallusti opus nobis occurrit: sed nos, ut instituimus, moras et non urgentia omitemus.*

<sup>3</sup> For so we must supply the missing letters after CONT- in accordance with the words of Justin xxxviii. 3. 11, quoted below, p. 14 n.

it would adequately correspond to the Latin words. Licinianus must in any case be *after* Sallust.

A more definite note of time has been found in the passage where Licinianus, speaking of the new columns with which Antiochus Epiphanes beautified and enlarged the temple of Zeus Olympius at Athens, adds the following words: (*a*) *edes nobilissima Olympii Iouis Atheniensis diu imperfecta permanse*. (Fol. x<sup>r</sup>, B 22.) The line (and column) end with this last word PERMANSE, and we cannot be sure how the next leaf began. If, as seems likely from the adjoining pluperfects, one of which at least, *circum dederat*, is indubitable, *permanserat* is to be read, we seem to have a hint of the ultimate completion of the temple by the emperor Hadrian. Yet here, again, anything like certainty is wanting; for, as was long ago suggested by the Bonn editors, the passage has some look of an accretion, even if we do not accept their view that Licinianus' original *Annales* were abridged with additions by an unskilful epitomator of the era of the Antonines, and that nothing can be inferred from this questionable supplement as to the age of the complete work of the author.

At the present time it is usual to assign the fragments of Licinianus to the age of the Antonines. It seems worth while to examine this hypothesis with more care than it has yet received; I doubt whether it can stand the test of criticism. To begin with the *style* of the work. I will take a passage where the MS. is sufficiently well preserved to require no conjectural emendation. It has been assigned to the xxxiii<sup>rd</sup> book (p. 16 Hept.).

Et M. Aurelium Scaurum consularem uirum ceperunt equo deiectum. Nam is uocatus in concilium ab is nihil indignum uiro Romano, qui tantis honoribus functus erat, aut fecit aut dixit. Itaque interfectus est cum posset effugere. Et nec ipsis petentibus ducem se tradere sustinuit uerecundia ut amisso exercitu incolumis esset. Qua uictoria Cimbrorum territus Mallius (so *Camozzi*, Manlius *MS.*) consul litteris supplicibus cum Caepionem orasset ut copiis iunctis simul et exercitu

ampliato Gallis resisterent, impetrare non potuit. Et cum Rhodanum traicisset et apud milites gloriatus esset timentis consuli se auxilium laturum, ne communicare quidem cum eo consilium belli gerendi uoluit, nec legatis quos senatus miserat, ut concordessent simulque rem publicam iuuant ausecultare dignatus est.

Here we have an ordinary piece of narrative, much in the usual style of epitomes, and not greatly differing from the style of the *periochae* of Livy, though, of course, less condensed. It would be very untrue to say that it had anything in common with either the letters of Fronto or the *Attic Nights* of Aulus Gellius, each of which presents the most marked idiosyncrasies, e.g. a studious affectation of uncommon or archaizing types of expression, and an equally careful avoidance of the pointed and epigrammatic *sententiae* which Seneca and the younger Pliny had made fashionable.

Such peculiarities as the above excerpt contains are mainly of a negative kind. The writer was obviously not much under Ciceronian influence: the use of *nec* for *ne... quidem*, the awkward construction *uerecundia ut amisso exercitu incolumis esset*, where we should have expected *uerecundia ut amisso exercitu incolumis [ne] esset*, and are constrained to try Thucydidean modes of syntax; again *ampliare* = to enlarge, *ausecultare* with a dative of the person listened to; all these are clear indications of a non-Ciceronian period. This, however, proves nothing whatever for the particular epoch of the Antonines, nor could any valid argument possibly be drawn from remains so largely conjectural as these palimpsest leaves were even when they could be examined at their best.

I will take another passage of a more emotional kind, the episode of the soldier who, during the conflict between Pompeius and Sertorius, in the civil war after Marius' return from Africa, killed by mistake his own brother, and finding what he had done, stabbed himself by the pyre he had constructed for his brother's funeral. The story has been told by many writers, Livy, Val. Maximus, Tacitus,

Orosius, to which list may be added two epigrams of the Latin Anthology (Riese A. L. 462, 463), where, however, the story is referred to the war at Actium.

Fol. vii<sup>a</sup>, col. B, l. 14, p. 24 of the Bonn Heptas. Bello quod inter Pompeium et Sertorium fuit, miles Pompei dum spoliat hostem, ignobilis quidam fratrem agnoscit. exstructo rogo dum iusta persoluit, multa praecatus et inpraecatus gladio se traiecit. Maximumque omnibus praeludium (*the word is not certain*) belli civilis casus hic attulit, mentesque mutauit, nec quisquam omnium a lacrimis potuit temperare.

This is a very instructive excerpt; we can compare it with the similar narratives of Livy (Perioch. 79), Val. Maximus, v. 4, Tac. *Hist.* iii. 51.

Next to Tacitus<sup>1</sup>, the epitomator of Livy has told his story most shortly; it takes up  $4\frac{1}{2}$  lines of a page in the Bibliotheca Teubneriana. Even in this abridgement the mournfulness of the episode is emphasized by the words *ingenti lamentatione edita . . . ipse supra rogum se transfodit*. Val. Maximus, as his custom is, enlarges rhetorically on this occurrence, adding that the unfortunate fratricide reproached the Gods much and long for the impious victory they had granted him. The passage of Licinianus holds an intermediate place between the brevity of Tacitus and the prolixity of Valerius. The most characteristic point in it, in which it differs from most of the accounts, are the words *multa praecatus et inpraecatus*; curses are mixed with prayers. This is a detail which, unimportant in itself, must notwithstanding have come from a particular source, perhaps Sisenna<sup>2</sup>. Such an inference quite coincides with what we know of Licinianus' statements else-

<sup>1</sup> *Hist.* iii. 51 proelio quo apud Ianiculum aduersus Cinna pugnatum est, Pompeianus miles fratrem suum, dein cognito facinore se ipsum interfecit, ut Sisenna memorat.

<sup>2</sup> It is strange that the Bonn edition should have been followed by both Camozzi and Flemisch in omitting the words *praecatus et*. If anything in Licinianus bears a stamp of genuineness, it is this combination of prayers and curses, made, as it is, more significant by the spelling, so familiar to students of early MSS., of the *ae* forms *praecatus* and *inpraecatus*.

where; they are often of a kind which must have come from some lost original which we should be very glad to recover.

One other noticeable combination of words in Licinianus' version of the story is *nec quisquam omnium*: Sallust has this, Cat. 36 fin. *neque ex castris Catilinae quisquam omnium discesserat*: Hist. B. I. fr. 55. 18 Maurenbrecher, *non me neque quemquam omnium satis tutum fuisse si recte faceremus*: but it is not frequent, and in Velleius, where *neque* or *nec quisquam* recurs again and again, there is no trace of *omnium*.

What then is the inference to be drawn from the two specimens of style I have quoted? Not, certainly, that they belong to the age of the Antonines, for the most marked features of that age are not to be found in them. There is, indeed, little of a special colour about them, if we except the words *multa praecatus et inpraecatus* in the second extract; a rare survival of a really characteristic detail which since 1858 has been put out of court. Surely it is time to raise some protest against excisions so arbitrary, not to say unjustifiable.

Again, what argument can possibly be drawn from so colourless a word as *derepente*? It is found in Plautus, Terence, Cicero, Tacitus, and cannot be said to belong to any age in particular.

Of a similarly hazardous kind is the introduction into the text of Licinianus of so very startling a combination as *nostro corde noscere*. He has been telling the story of the brothers Corfidii, for which we have also the attestation of Pliny (*H. N.* vii. 177). The passage is unfortunately full of lacunae, and none of the conjectural restorations are satisfactory. So much, however, of the immediately following words is distinct as to show the meaning. 'Though I must not,' he says, 'fill my pages with inquiries of this supernatural kind, I feel bound to record the legend of the brothers Corfidii' (p. 10, col. B, l. 3 Hept.).

- 3 TANTÛDE  
 4 OPUSFUITNOSTROCOR  
 5 ENOSCERE QUANTUM  
 6 MEMORIAE TRADERE

K. Pertz records no variant, but states that the first letter of l. 5 was not distinguishable. We have, therefore, only three letters to rely upon, *opus fuit nostroCOR* (lacuna of one letter) *noscere*. Francken has emended this most excellently *opus fuit nos recognoscere*, where *recognoscere* is opposed to *memoriae tradere* as reviewing and verifying to simply recording. Yet in a recent volume of the *Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie* (xi. 266), as well as in his complete edition, we find Flemisch rejecting this conjecture and returning to the suggestion of the Heptas *opus fuit nostro corde noscere*. This gives but a poor sense. A writer of annals, apologizing for mentioning at some length a spiritualistic story, would surely have used words which were more intelligible to an ordinary reader, words in which the antithesis to *memoriae tradere* would have been easily and immediately grasped. But, it is argued, such a use of *cor*, to express the mental or inward faculty, is archaic, and might naturally be found in a writer belonging to an archaizing epoch. As if the words were not a mere conjecture at best! For we must not shut our eyes to the fact that in discussing the age of Licinianus one set of critics start from an imperfectly conserved text and then read into it presumptive archaisms; another, assuming such conjectural archaisms as proven, swell in this way the catalogue of Licinianean peculiarities and construct a fragile and very assailable edifice thereupon.

I suppose few will lay much stress on the occasional occurrence of forms like *Archelaus*, *Archelauo* side by side with *Archelaus*, *Archelao*. The Heptas cite several similarly enlarged forms from inscriptions, *Menelaus* *Menelaos* *Nicolaus*, and the new *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* quotes (also from inscriptions) five instances in which a *v* precedes *i* in this actual name, one in which it precedes *o*. The same digammated forms occur in early

MSS., and I think it would be rash to conclude anything from such a fluctuation of spelling as to the precise date of our author. The same may be said of *Ariobardianes*,<sup>1</sup> of which, however, neither the Heptas nor the new Thesaurus Linguae Latinae quote any parallel instance. But if *Medientius* for *Mezentius* is found in very early MSS. of the *Aeneid*, an isolated form like *Ariobardianes* (see p. 34, l. 19) cannot by itself be thought very significant.

#### THE HISTORICAL EVENTS CONTAINED IN THE FRAGMENTS.

The period of history contained in the fragments extends from 591–676 A.U.C. = 163–78 B.C. Livy's last extant book, xlv, reaches to 167 B.C. The Licinianus leaves therefore begin very nearly where our books of Livy end. It is interesting to compare this with the new epitome of Livy discovered by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, the remains of which cover a period of fifty-three years, from 190 to 137, corresponding to Livy's books xxxvii, xxxviii, xxxix, xl, and again to books xlviii to lv, where we have no longer complete books, but merely Periochae.

The first of the Licinianus fragments (which is miserably mutilated) includes, where it is coherent, an archæological discussion on cavalry, with illustrations from Greek, especially Spartan records. The chief point gained from it is a confirmation of the rare word *flexuntes* as registered by Placidus *flexuntes equitis quoddam genus ab ornamento equi quod flexum uocant*.

The second fragment is more purely historical. It begins with a description of the character of Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, his eccentricities, sacrilegious acts, and death. It is to be regretted that the text is again very imperfect, and though the details are helped out by Polybius, Diodorus, and the 41st book of Livy, much still baffles the ingenuity of critics. It is at the end of the section about Antiochus that the words occur to which I have referred above, as alluding to the completion of the temple of Zeus

<sup>1</sup> Dieckmann de Granii Liciniani fontibus et auctoribus, p. 9.



Olympius at Athens *aedes nobilissima Olympii Iouis Atheniensis diu imperfecta permanse*[rat], leaving us uncertain whether Hadrian's work, by which it was finally completed, was intended by our annalist or not. Two prodigies, or rather spiritualistic stories, follow, for the insertion of which Licinianus thinks he must apologize; his words are memorable, and show an enlightenment of spirit hardly to be expected: *nec oppellendae sunt huiusmodi cognitionibus chartulae*.

After mentioning a fault in taking the auspices, by which the appointment of the consuls was vitiated—here we can check the narrative by the further statements of Cicero and Val. Maximus—Licinianus proceeds to praise P. Lentulus, consul suffectus of 592, for his adroitness in buying up the *ager publicus* occupied by individuals.

The excerpt ends with the senate's appointment of Antiochus V to succeed his father Epiphanes, and his premature decease.

Fragment iii introduces the Cimbrian war, and the mismanagement of it by Mallius and Caepio. Most of this part is well preserved, and adds particulars not to be found elsewhere. A series of portents follows, in the last of which we are told of a hymn composed by a woman named Amata, perhaps a vestal virgin (Gell. I. 12), and sung by boys of noble birth.

The excerpt ends with the banishment of Mallius, which follows the similar banishment of Caepio. Measures of Rutilius to secure Italy against the invasion of the Cimbri.

Fragment iv (from B. xxxv) contains episodes of the civil war between Marius and Sulla. It opens with an examination of the *libri fatules*, which pointed to Cinna, and declared that peace and safety could only return if six tribunes were ejected.

Marius, encouraged by a supernatural presage, collects an army of 1,000 men, meets Cinna at the promontory of Telamon, and is joined by many exiles. He levies a legion of volunteers and makes Cinna commander-in-chief.

At this point the lacunae are so perplexing as to make

the sequence of events a chiaroscuro. Marius' capture of Ostia and attack on the Janiculum, including a temporary repulse, seem to be tolerably made out.

Inserted in this confused narrative, but more intelligibly preserved, is the episode of the involuntary fratricide quoted above.

Pestilence breaks out, and 17,000 men die in the camp of Octavius. Pompeius Strabo succumbs to the effects of a lightning stroke, his body is taken from the coffin and dragged through mud. His army is transferred to Octavius. Metellus having led his forces against Cinna, they salute and are resaluted by Cinna's troops; Metellus then makes overtures of peace to Cinna.

Here the narrative shifts to Sulla's operations in Greece against Mithridates' officers, Dorilaus and Archelaus. Archelaus' son is killed, and his army defeated with the loss of 25,000 men. Archelaus escapes in a skiff to Chalcis.

Conference of Sulla and Archelaus at Aulis. Conditions of peace. Archelaus to deliver his fleet to Sulla; Mithridates to retire from all the islands, Asia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, and Galatia; C. Oppius and M'. Aquilius to be set free, and all the captives restored.

Francken has called attention to the omission of Capadocia from this list of territories to be ceded by Mithridates, and to the fact that Licinianus has described Sulla as demanding the cession of Aquilius, when he must have known that he had been put to death by torture, as recorded by Cicero, the elder Pliny, and Appian (de l. Manil. v, Plin. xxxiii. 18, App. Mithr. xxi). Another weak point is the doubt which attaches to the *place* where these conditions were arranged; in one passage Licinianus appears to name Aulis, later on Dardanus in Asia Minor.

Sulla executes the leaders of revolt at Ephesus and restores to Nicomedes Euergetes the sovereignty of Bithynia. Some details are added of the family and wives of Nicomedes. This part of the MS. has been ill preserved; M. Reinach has shed light on some of its obscurities by an appeal to numismatology and Greek inscriptions, and I believe

myself to have restored *Aristoanassa* to a position which hitherto has been claimed unreservedly for *Aristonica*.

From these dimly lighted fragments we are grateful to escape into the clearer light and comparatively ascertained text of *Fragm. v*, which belonged to book xxxvi of the complete work.

It begins with the African triumph of Cn. Pompeius, then only 25 years of age, celebrated on March 12,<sup>1</sup> and distinguished from other triumphs by an attempt twice made to enter the walls of Rome with a team of Leptitan elephants. Probably in connexion with this is the mention of a fight of bulls and elephants, which had first been exhibited by Claudius Pulcer, curule aedile, in 655/99, and was now repeated by the two brothers Luculli.

The town of Volaterrae surrenders to Rome, after the people had stoned to death the praefect appointed by Sulla, C. Papirius Carbo, brother of the more famous consul Cn. Carbo. Following his irregular method, Licinianus takes the occasion to speak of the similar surrender of Nola the year before, adding the story of Papius Mutilus, a proscribed leader of the Itali, who finding his wife Bassia (the Bastia of *Liv. perioch.* 89) refused him admittance to her house at Teanum, stabbed himself with a dagger.

Of Sulla's death we have no account, but his cremation in the Campus Martius, which was attended by a large concourse, is specially dwelt upon. Licinianus adds some new details, which, as Camozzi observes, are not found elsewhere. (1) Cicero (*Legg.* ii. 22) and Pliny (*II. N.* vii. 55) state that Sulla himself had wished to be burnt: our annalist says his own wish was to be buried, but that L. Marcius Philippus the orator, fearing the body might be dragged from its resting-place, as had been done with the body of Marius, prevailed to have it cremated. (2) A *iustitium* was declared, and the Roman matrons mourned Sulla for a year. The circumstance of a heavy rain falling

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned by Licinianus only (Camozi).

when the pyre was set fire to is also recorded by Plutarch (Sull. 38).

Here Licinianus contrasts his plan of writing with Sallust's: *nos, ut instituimus, moras et non urgentia omitemus*. Sallust should be read as an orator, not as a historian. He is a censurer of his own time, carps at delinquencies, introduces set speeches (*contiones*, cf. Justin. xxxviii. 3. 11<sup>1</sup>) of his own composition, digresses into descriptions of sites and scenery. The concluding words of this much quoted appreciation of Sallust are unfortunately irrecoverable; but the passage as a whole conveys a fair impression of what Licinianus aimed to effect, i. e. a *résumé* of Roman history in a plain style, with few digressions, and avoiding points which could not be thought to bear on the subject materially. It follows that to Licinianus the frequent prodigies which interrupt the narrative were *not* thought unimportant, as indeed their frequency in Livy seems to show that he also considered them an integral part of the history of Rome.

After this the speech of M. Aemilius Lepidus against restoring the tribunician power to its pre-Sullan supremacy is recorded, and the words *extat oratio* are added. This can, I believe, only refer to the actual speech of Lepidus which was given after delivery to copyists and published: similarly in the 59th periocha of Livy, the formula *extat oratio* is used of an oration spoken by the censor Q. Metellus urging marriage as a necessity. This oration of Metellus, the periocha adds, was quoted by Augustus *cum de maritandis ordinibus ageret*, as if written expressly to suit his own time when it was necessary to enforce marriage by penalties. I mention this because the words of Licinianus have been thought to refer to a speech which

<sup>1</sup> • Quam orationem (a contio of Mithridates to his soldiers) dignam duxi cuius exemplum breuitati huius operis insererem; quam obliquam Pompeius Trogus exposuit, quoniam in Liui et in Sallustio reprehendit quod contiones directas pro sua oratione (ratione *Wölflin*) operi suo inserendo historiae modum excesserint.' This passage of Justin makes it probable that the imperfect word *cont* . . . *ingerit* should be emended *contiones*, rather than *conuicia*. (Jordan.)

Sallust (*Hist.* i. fr. 55 Maurenbrecher) has placed in the mouth of Lepidus at a period some time *before* the death of Sulla. The passage of the periocha seems conclusive against this; a speech composed in the style of those in Thucydides and Livy, to give liveliness and colour to a formal history, might no doubt be referred to as confirming a statement but could never have been described as an extant oration.

# APPENDIX

## <sup>1</sup> SUGGESTIONS ON THE TEXT OF LICINIANUS.

In printing the text I follow the reproduction given by the Bonn Heptas (II.), also their paging; capitals only where the letters leave a doubt.

p. 4, col. 2, l. 20—

flexuntes a genere P<sup>EN</sup>IDILIUMQUODREGUM uocabant.

Placidus (p. 46 Deuerling) *Flexuntes equitis quoddam genus ab ornamento equi quod flexam uocant.* pensilium H. Can there have been a form in u, pendulum? QUODREGUM, I think, is for *quo regunt*. For *regunt* = *flectunt*, and *quo regunt* = ornamentum quo equos flectunt, i. e. *flexum*.

The preceding sentence I would write thus:—scio quos Spartiatæ . . ., et quidam ἀνίππους hoc die, at ali(i) καλλίππους appella(n)t. hoc die = hodie, at the present time.

p. 8, col. A, l. 8—

Incertæ naturæ i]s LEVITATISQUAE SUL . . . R(doubtful)ULIS-COMISABAR . . . ENIRE

*levitatisque summae* Mommsen, but not convincingly. I think it possible that the letters after *levitatisque* point rather to ADULESCENTULIS. Both Polybius (xxvi. 1) ὅτε τῶν νεωτέρων αἰσθοῖτό τινας συνειωχουμένους . . . παρὴν ἐπικωμάζων and Diodorus (xxix. 32) εἰ τινας τῶν νέων αἰσθοῖτο . . . ἐπὶ κῶμων παρεγένετο mention revelling parties of young men as the occasion of Antiochus' eccentricities. For *comisabar* it seems probable we should prefer *comisator* to *comisans* or *comisabundus*. The Bonn editors supply [*interu*]enire very plausibly.

ib., l. 16—

astureone pom'pan) . ETEBAT

Probably the lost letter was R, as Bernays thought—REGEBAT. In support of *astureone* may be quoted from Götz's Thesaurus Glossarum *Asturco equus ambulator*. Such an ambling horse would suit any one marshalling a procession.

p. 8, col. B, l. 11—

has ille METAPIO<sup>1</sup>TANTISACRITERGLISCENTISEXTENDIT

A syllable has fallen out here, ME[RI]TAS. The rest follows easily: IN for IO, then *tantis sacrilegiis poenas expnait*. This is very near Bursian's has ille poenas tanti sacrilegi expendit; but *poenas* seems to be disguised rather in CENTIS than in METAPIO. The palimpsest seems to have given either EXTENDIT or EXPENDIT: the meaning, however, leaves no doubt that the latter is the right word.

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted with omissions from *Hermathena* for 1907, pp. 414-32.

ib., l. 17—

Olympio[n] ETMURESLAPIDEMτAs . ONEINSULUERAT.

Probably ex (mar)moris lapide octa (? meta)s[tyl]on ei instituerat. The last two words were suggested by Keil, but are doubtful.

Bursian conj. *e lapide marmore*; but ET is rather EX than E. For octastylon cf. Vitruv. iii. 1 fin. *huius exemplar Romae non est, sed Athenis octastylon templo Olympio*.

If, however, the M before τAs is reliable, perhaps μετάστυλον 'colon-naded' might seem to express the same idea less particularly, since Licinianus goes on to say nam columnas aliquot numero circumdederat.

p. 10, col. A, l. 1—

The first words of this passage are, I believe, *et qu'a) e alia*; then perhaps *multi inueniuntur* followed by a participle (*fingentes, commenti, credentes*?) : as Pliny says of Corn. Nepos quaeque alia Cornelius Nepos audissime credidit.

In l. 5 RIGRO for which Mommsen conj. ROGO may be [FE]RETRO.

In the story of the two brothers Corfidii, I think it possible that the letters following maior frater heredem (p. 10, col. A, l. 9) represent miliens fratrem minorem instituerat legtoque (= lectoque) testamento reuixit maior : but if this is so, not only is *miliens* a somewhat unusual breuiloquy, but the words *minorem fratrem* are rather an inference from Pliny's account of the same event than obtainable from the letters of the codex as reported by Pertz.

The sentence after this (l. 13) may have been as follows : [a] fratre s[u]o ait se dimissum; eum petisse funeri s[uo] erogaretur et locum (then a line lost, e. g. Flemisch's *in quo defodisset aurum*) edocuisse.

In this attempted restitution *edocuisse* is Mommsen's, but *indicasse* of H. is also possible. What the word was between *petisse* and *funeri*, represented by T in the codex, is very doubtful; it would seem to be some numerical abbreviation.

p. 10, col. B, l. 3—

tantumde(m) opus fuit NOSTROCORENOSCERE quantum memoriae tradere.

Francken's *nos recognoscere* seems to me right; the corruption probably arose from the tendency to introduce a *g* after *con*, *recongoscere*. At any rate the suggestion of the Heptas *nostro corde noscere* is very hazardous; its strangeness and its not being the MS. reading combine to make it improbable. This would not matter so much if an argument had not been drawn from it in favour of an Antoninian era as the date at which Licinianus wrote. Between Fronto or A. Gellius and Licinianus it is difficult to trace anything like real similarity; archaisms are *rare* in the few passages of L. where the reading is ascertained.

p. 14, col. A, l. 6—

Senatus permisit agrum Campanum quem omnem priuati possidebant coemeret et publicus fieret.

I see no great reason for altering *et* to *ut*; the nominative changes

from Lentulus to the land: 'allowed him to buy up the land, and the land to become in this way state domain.'

ib., 21—

INUISOSDIUISŪ. . . .

This is for in(di)uisos diuisum [iret].

ib., col. B, l. 10—

Antiochi Epiphanis regnum senatus filio Antiochi Antiocho puero adtribuit qui paulo POSTE . . ITATUIPIAPRELIATUSEST.

Here Mommsen has most excellently recovered the Greek name *Eupator*, possibly corrupted from a Greek-written original, and *appellatus est* for APRELIATUS EST. But POST seems to have been followed by E[A], which would be a little in the manner of Livy.

l. 16—

petenti IUNGEBAT seems to be for TUNC NEGABAT or TUNC ABNUEBAT 'when he asked, at the time of the request, refused.'

l. 24—

Et cum habuit MIS.

After MIS, which are the last letters of the line, the page comes to an end. Hirschfeld has suggested -ERICORDIAM SENATUS as a probable supplement. Following in his track I would offer -ERATIO SENATUM.

p. 16, col. B, l. 17—

Legatos—ita contumeliose submouit ut desperata pace ADO . . . CAPTA postero die CASTR(A) eius non longe a Manli castris constituta.

ADO[rrentur] postero die H, omitting CAPTA. It seems possible that the missing letters were ADO[rta ae] CAPTA; the participle *adortus* was sometimes passive. Then *sint* might follow after CASTRA. Pertz, however, reports the letter following ADO as the left-hand half of U.

p. 18, col. B, l. 9—

militum UIECIUMQ.

May this have been *uelitumque*? It is nearer to the reported letters than *calonumque*.

p. 20, col. 1, l. 1—

Matrona quaedam qua[si] mente commota sedit in consilio Iouis.

*solio* Keil and so II. This seems improbable. I think *consilio* means the gods seated (in effigy) as assessors of Jupiter. Horace uses the same words, *Carm.* iii. 25. 6 *Caesaris audiar Aeternum meditans decus Stellis inserere et consilio Iouis* 'Jove's council of assessors'. In the passage of Horace it is more than probable that the twelve signs of the zodiac, who were in a special sense called *βουλαῖοι θεοί*, are alluded to (*Schol. Ap. R.* iv. 262); in the passage of Licinianus, the assessors of Jupiter would naturally be the other eleven primary gods (*Apoll. R.*, ii. 532 and *schol.*).

l. 8—

Et die quodam AN . . LUDOSQUI futuri erant.

Karl Pertz's supplement an[te] ludos qui futuri erant is generally



accepted as right; but it is not certain. May it not have been die quodam ante quam *ludi Osci* futuri erant—a more particular specification? Cic. *Fam.* vii. 1 non enim te puto Graecos aut Oscos ludos desiderasse, praesertim cum Oscos uel in senatu uestro spectare possis. LUD. OSQUI = LUDI OSCI.

p. 20, col. A, l. 20—

Aliquod matronae [e]odem somn[i]o monitae [u]na eademque nocte de . . IB. SACRIS praestite[runt] hocque SACRIFICATU aliquotiens.

Perhaps *dei Liberi* sacris: such a simultaneous warning would naturally involve a religious rite of some expiatory kind. In SACRIFICATU is perhaps disguised, not *sacrificum*, but *sacri factum*, or *facilitum*.

ib., col. B, l. 9—

This sentence seems to me to have been as follows:

Rutilius consul collega Manlii, (hoc anno Cn. Pompeius natus est, solus super rep. [b]onit[ate] aeque adque Cicero <laudandus>) cum metus aduentantium Cimbrorum totam quateret ciuitatem ius iurandum a iunioribus exegit.

The words *hoc anno* to *aeque adque Cicero* seem, as the Heptas suggested, parenthetical: a deviation from the usual style of Licinianus justified by the importance of the event, the birth of Pompeius Magnus. super rep. bonitate = propter bonitatem in remp. The letters . ONITAEQ. are a quite explicable corruption of BONITATEAEQ.

It is very noticeable that the description of Rutilius as *consul collega Manlii* agrees exactly with Val. Max. ii. 3. 3 a P. Rutilio consule Cn. Manlii collega.

p. 22, col. A, l. 2—

placuit—quid in libris fatalibus SERIEPOSSET palam recitari.

This is surely [quid] i. l. f. *reperiri* posset, not *scriptum esset*, as the first editors supposed.

l. 6—

Constabat notari EAGMINECINNASEACTRIB'PATRIAPULSIS tranquillum otium et securitatem futuram.

Read notari eo carmine (so Pertz) Cinna[m] ac sex tribunis patria pulsus. Mommsen, whom Camozzi and Flemisch follow, conj. *carmine* (without eo) Cinna *sexque* tribunis: but notari seems more likely to mean 'was marked out' than 'it was indicated'. The inversion *sex ac* for *ac sex* is supported by similar dislocations in the MS.

In the letters which immediately follow *fururam*, PETERAT auspiciu[m] et superiore casu Mario oblatum, for which Bernays conj. REPETAM, the Bonn Heptas REFERAM, I offer SET ERAT, to which *et* appears to me to point, 'However, this was not the only instance of the divine favour towards Marius; an omen had befallen him before,' as Licinianus goes on to record.

l. 15—

uidet asellum forte ABIECTIS ER . . BARTIS.

*obiectis ei* Pertz, cf. Val. Max. i. 5 cum ei *pubulum* obiceretur; *cibariis* II:

whence Flemisch restores, in my opinion rightly, *obiectis ei [ei]bariis*. In the next clause, *praecini* perhaps accords better with a *presage* such as this than *praecipì*, and TDE is perhaps INDE rather than IDEM.

l. 23—

Nauì peruenit IALS CHRONPROFECTUETHISPANIA.

Here EX has palpably been corrupted into ET. IALSCHRON probably disguises in the form of abbreviation TALS ACRON, i.e. *Telamonis promontorium* (Ptol. iii. 1. 4). *Telamonis* is due to the younger Pertz; the name is sometimes spelt with an *a*, Talamon (*Dict. of Geography* s. v.). My own part of this conjecture ἄκρον I consider all but certain (Ptol. iii. 1. 4 Τελαμών ἄκρον).

col. B, l. 21 IUTUMUELLETIREREA is quite straightforward, except REA, for which I suggest [*inte*]rea, anticipating [*do*] nec of l. 23, like Liv. ix. 9. 13 *interea in indutiis res fuisset, donec ab Roma legati aut uictoriam illis certam aut pacem adferrent*.

l. 23 *subreiserat* of the codex seems to be an error for *subrepserit* as included in the clause [*ad*]iutum uellet ire *interea . . . donec*.

l. 24 NARBO looks like a mistake for Carbo. NESOSPORTUM has a strange semblance of a semi-Greek compound *nesoportum* 'island harbour'. Is it possible that Licinianus called by this name the harbour of Ostia? I have not been able to find the word elsewhere; but such a translation of a Greek noun νησολίμην would have well suited the later post-republican descriptions of Ostia, as Dion Cassius says of Claudius' reconstruction of it: lx. 11. 4 τοῦτο δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πελάγει χώματα ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτοῦ μεγάλα χώσας θάλασσαν ἐνταῦθα πολλὴν περιέβαλε καὶ νῆσον ἐν αὐτῇ πύργον τε ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ φρυκτωρίαν ἔχοντα κατεστήσατο.

p. 24. col. A—For an attempted restitution of this column see *Hermathena* for 1907, pp. 424-5.

p. 24, col. B, l. 14—

The story of the two combatants, one of whom after killing the other recognized him as his brother while stripping his body, and then stabbed himself on the funeral pile constructed for his brother's corpse, must have been famous, as it is mentioned by Livy, *Epit.* 79; Val. Maximus v. 5. 4, Tacitus, *Hist.* iii. 51, and Orosius v. 19. 12 (Flemisch). To these may be added the writer of two epigrams, Anth. Lat. 462, 463 Riese, in which, however, the event is placed at the time of the civil war at Actium. The story is given on p. 24, col. B, of Licinianus, and happens to be unusually well preserved. I demur, therefore, to the omission by the Heptas in the words (l. 20) *multa praecatus et impraecatus gladio se traiecit of praecatus et*, though the excision is accepted by Camozzi and Flemisch. The unhappy slayer of his brother might well be described as offering, before he killed himself, many prayers and invoking many curses: prayers to the gods to forgive his rash act of murder, curses on the authors of the civil war, who had caused two brothers to fight as enemies.

p. 26, col. A, l. 18—

dignitatem ANTIREMPRESENTIB · PATRIB ·

d. antiquam prae se ferentibus patribus *H.* d. antiquam *P. R.* tuentibus patribus *Francken.* The words are very doubtful. Can *rem praesentibus* be for *repraesentantibus*? or should we write *d. ant[erio]rem praestantibus* 'the senators asserting their former dignity'?

col. B, l. 8—

cum Cinna consilia sociabat et Octavio FECER.

tegebat *Mommsen*, detegebat *H.*: the antithesis seems to point to SECER[NEBAT].

p. 28, col. A, top—

The loss of letters here allows nothing beyond a hazy view of the meaning. The general Pompeius Strabo is lying in his tent disabled by a lightning stroke; and C. Cassius is sent to act for him whilst he recovers. Then follow, l. 6, the words ADQUEMPOMPEI . . . . MREPENTESEERIGIT. The Heptas filled up the gap by reading Pompei[us nuntiu]m, which, if the codex is reported with anything like truth, can hardly be right. I suggest ad quem Pompei[us tum] repente se erigit, 'on whose arrival Pompeius roused himself for the moment,' like Catullus' *ut mihi tum repente visum est*, x. 3.

Pompeius, instead of recovering, died. A description of his funeral follows, in which, however, the loss of letters again causes perplexity. The following is an attempt differing in some points from those hitherto published:—

p. 28, col. A, l. 14—

Eius funus populus . . . . PADANUS dir(r)uit MOR . . . DUMQ. sIRNODEsCusSU . . ARCAENUM trahere non destitit omnibus consentientibus dignam caelo poenam et perfidiae et ASAV . . UTITIAE FESSrSIDUM HOS . . DEM expendisse.

l. 15 Perhaps mor[bi] dumque decussu[m ex] arca caeno trahere non destitit. ARCA, a common word for 'coffin', would account for the loss of CA before -ENUM. Then, perhaps, et perfidiae et aua[ritia]e et sae[uitia]e: cf. Vell. ii. 22: *saeuitiae causam auaritia praebuit*. Plutarch expressly states that the one cause of Pompeius Strabo's unpopularity was his χρημάτων ἀπληστος ἐπιθυμία (Pomp. i). The two following words are probably *pessimum* (Keil), perhaps, but more doubtfully, *hominem* (H.).

l. 23 seq. I read thus—

Sed ora[to]res et tribuni repressa [m]ultitudine cadauer superin[ie]cta ueste non sinunt] in busta trahi; [alii dicunt] in lecticulam uulgariter cum elatum sepulturae datum.

There is some ground for retaining *oratores*. The funeral of Pompeius seems to have taken place at Rome (Plut. Pomp. i, Vell. ii. 21), and was a proper occasion for the numerous orators of that time to protest, so far as they could, against an act of popular barbarity.

col. B, l. 9—

milites repente ~~cl~~LEISTOTIS clamore exercitum Cinnæ salutant ac resalutantur.

Possibly *centuriis totis*.

l. 15—

ipse inter primos ad Cinnam de pace legatum TICISSENSDEEA.

Perhaps mittit paciscens de ea.

p. 32, col. A, l. 12—

quadrigas . . . ESSUAS septuaginta.

essedas *K. Pertz*, falcatas *H.* I suggest EIUS ET SUAS, sent by Dorilaus and Mithridates.

l. 20—

SENECTU . . . DERIDI continebant.

Traube has restored *se noctu*, and *noctu*, I think, points to the antithesis *ad meridiem* or *usque ad meridiem*.

p. 34, col. B, l. 1—

Hortensius RE . . . fugauerat.

retro *Pertz*: perhaps *repulsos*.

l. 13—

oppida INFACASRU . redigit in suam potestatem

inpacata *K. Pertz*. I suggest *rursus* for the gap before *redigit*.

l. 15—

Nicomedi regnum Bithiniae restituit RUC . . ESToPRELIATI PAPHILA . ON . .

The 'O' in ESTo is doubtful.

Camozzi is indubitably right in restoring the name *Paphlagonia* to this sentence; but the rest of his conjecture *cui est pars addita* is too remote from the letters, though I have nothing better to suggest of my own.

p. 36, col. A, l. 4—

The spelling here of the name Nicomedes Euergetes as [NI]CONEMES EUERSEIES is comical, but is expressly vouched for by *Pertz*.

In l. 5 I would write *merito ita dictus* for . ERITADICTUS. In l. 7 *alligabat*, not *alliciebat*, seems demanded by *beneficiis suis*: the codex gave ALLI . EBAT.

l. 10 The letters ARISTONAS point to *Aristo[an]as[sa]*, a form like Plistoanax. Such varieties of name are common enough. It is even not impossible that *Halie*, as the codex is reported to have given, is a real name; at any rate, the adjective SICHEANA, by which she appears to be described as belonging to Sycae, or Syce, a town of Cilicia (*Steph. Byz.* s. v., *Athen.* iii. 78. b), should be retained. The two words were corrected by *Keil* into *Haghe Cyzicena*; and this is sometimes printed as right. But though *Cyzicus* seems to be spelt in the codex CELIEUS, this does not justify so remote a corruption as *Sicheana* for *Cyzicena*. *Reinach* (*Revue de*

*Numismatique* for 1897, pp. 241 sqq.) has suggested *Nicaena*, de Ricci *Sigeana*.

In the gap, l. 10, quem . . . RARISTONAC, I suggest [UXO]R: for *procreare* is at times used of the mother: cf. Cic. *de Orat.* i. 3 *procreatricem quandam et quasi parentem*, and cf. *Aen.* x. 705, where Vergil seems to have written *Cisseis regina creat: Paris urbe paterna Occubat*.

col. B, l. 8—

Chrestus etiam quasi meliore nomine ab eodem REUOCUAT.

It is difficult to explain *reuocari* of the new name given to Socrates. I believe we should write ab eodem re[ge] uocari.

In the fragment of book xxxvi (p. 38 H.) Licinianus, recording the African triumph of Cn. Pompeius, mentions the story of his trying to enter Rome with a team of elephants, and finding the entrance too narrow to admit of it.

p. 38, col. A, l. 7—

QUI . . . ADMEMORANTEIOTU . . . . . TEMAELEPHIA . . . . .  
 . . . . . EPCINITINES Ro . . . MAUEREMINGRE RoIT . . . cNRECUISSE  
 ELE . . . . . RADCURRUM TUNC<sup>1</sup> . . . . . AIS . QUAMQUS RIS  
 EXPERIENTUR.

I supplement this as follows:—

Quidam admemorant Pompeium (?) cu[m] sex uel sep[tem] elepha[ntis] Africae Leptitanis Romam auentem ingre[di] int[ro]it[um] facere ne[que]quisse elephantis ad currum iunctis [ne]xisque quamuis bis experiretur.

*Admemorare*, though the new Latin Thesaurus quotes no instance of it, must have existed before *admemoratio* could have been used by Augustine. It seems probable that *Leptis* (Plin. *H. N.* viii. 32 *elephantos fert Africa ultra Syrticas solitudines*) in an adjectival form, whether *Leptitanis* or *Leptinis* or *Lepticinis*,<sup>2</sup> is disguised in the letters which follow. Pliny (*H. N.* viii. 4), while mentioning the fact that Pompeius Magnus, in his African triumph, was the first who yoked elephants before the eyes of the Romans, adds that Procilius denied the possibility of such an elephant team passing beyond the city gates.

col. B, l. 14—

et Samnites Q. QUI Nol(a)e erant.

This must be, I think, *quiqui*, plural of *quisquis*.

p. 42, col. A, l. 22—

The characterization of Sallust here given by Licinianus is an almost unique literary remark in the scanty remains the palimpsest has preserved. Sallustium non ut historicum aiunt sed ut oratorem legendum. nam et tempora reprehendit sua et delicta carpit et con[tra]tiones] ingerit et DATINCE . . . loca montes flumina et hoc genus AMO . . . Mommsen

<sup>1</sup> The three letters UNC form one composite letter in the codex.

<sup>2</sup> In Tac. *Ann.* iii. 74 the Medicean MS. has *lepcinos*; the occurrence of *c* there and in Licin. is remarkable. Can there have been a form *Lepticinus*?

conj. *dat in censum*, Flemish *dat invicem*: perhaps *dat in scaenam*. For AMO . . . Keil's *amoena* seems a plausible suggestion.

p. 44, col. A, l. 1—

In quorum AcRI . . cIsS deduxerat SA . . . FUERE.

ACRI or AGRI looks like the remains of *agris*—a variation of construction for *in agros deducere*. The word which followed is very doubtful: *milites* was suggested by the younger Pertz: nothing more plausible has been offered. But SA may well be the remains of *saluos* or *saluas*, with which the Heptas' supplement [*resti*] *tuere* for FUERE would well agree: since the outer margin of col. A had been torn away, and it is uncertain how many letters should be supplied—a remark which holds good also in l. 6, where I would supply [*mulier*] *ibus* rather than [*complur*] *ibus* of the Bonn Heptas. Similarly, in l. 7 *agros* [*cap*] *tos reddiderunt*.











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